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SOUTH CAROLINA UNDER THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT, 1670-1719. Edward McCrady. Cloth, crown 8vo, \$3.50 net. Macmillan & Co., New York and London, 1897.

For the first time since Sandford took formal possession of the country of the Edisto in 1666, the early history of Colonial South Carolina has been adequately written and made accessible to the general reader. The brochures of Archdale, Oldmixon, Chalmers and other writers who were eye witnesses of the scenes described by them, and actors in the events of which they wrote, had long been buried out of the memory of all but a few patient scholars, when Carroll published his valuable reprint of collected pamphlets, in 1836, and even Hewatt and Ramsay had shared the same fate. Invaluable as was this laborious compilation, it never reached a second edition, and Simm's resumé and River's brief, but accurate studies, soon followed it into undeserved obscurity. The names, the labors, the motives and the achievements of the sturdy men who impressed their ideas and their personality on the social and political life of the South, of which they were the founders, had become practically lost, or fragmentarily preserved in an inaccurate and unreliable tradition; for what has been said of South Carolina is measurably, though to a less extent, true of all the Southern Colonies, while the names and deeds and somewhat mythical adventures of the makers of New England, of New York and of Pennsylvania had long been as household words to Southern as well as Northern youth and age. This historical exaltation of one section and corresponding neglect of the other, may be traced upward through the Royal and Revolutionary periods of the country, though in a somewhat lessening degree, and the natural result has proved to be a potent factor in the mutual relations of the people of the Northern and Southern States. It is very doubtful, however, if a familiarity with the written histories of South Carolina above mentioned, would have materially altered this result, for Hewatt's volumes gave Ramsay most of his materials, and Hewatt was not a native writer, nor was he in sympathy with the people of the Province, and his work is more a narrative of events than an interested effort to trace out their sequence and discover their meaning.

History is far more than mere narrative, and the true historian must grasp his work *con amore*, must find a congenial theme with which all his facts must harmonize, like the melodies of a great musical composition, and having found it must follow its thread with a single aim, but with sufficient breadth of view to find its illustrations in the facts which he narrates, and not to mould those facts to fit his theory. This is not an easy task, but General McCrady has accomplished it in a remarkably successful degree. The volume before us is really an Economic and Constitutional History of Proprietary South Carolina, but without sufficient professional bias to mar the interest of the general reader, and is marked by a careful and accurate attention to detail which is never tire-

some, but which will leave little knowledge of events and of man to be acquired elsewhere by a thoughtful student. The author has used with freedom, but always with honest acknowledgement, the work of those who have preceded him in his field; but he has verified, modified and corrected their statements by industrious personal reference to the vast mass of original matter which has but recently become accessible, and in this rich mine he has discovered the large amount of supplementary truth which gives the real value and interest to his work.

Among the authorities thus laboriously consulted may be mentioned the invaluable documents rescued by the Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay from the London State-Paper Office during his Mayoralty of Charleston, and printed, most of them for the first time, in his series of Year Books and in the five volumes of Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society; the MSS. records, long pigeon-holed in the office of the Secretary of State at Columbia; the series of Colonial Newspapers preserved in the Charleston Library; the original Registers and Vestry-Books of Colonial Parishes and the Records of the Charleston Probate Office. The amount of painstaking labor involved in such work can be fully appreciated only by those who have themselves attempted it, and the author's use of these materials has been in the nature of an exegesis rather than a mere collection of historical facts. The result has been a work which easily takes its place beside such admirable recent productions as Fiske's *Old Virginia and her Neighbors* and Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*. The author's practical turn of mind has broken up some cherished idols, and has led him to some inferences which will challenge just dissent. There are some errors of statement resulting from relaxed vigilance in following accepted "authorities," and some from an occasional faulty habit of making positive assertions from negative evidence, and to these attention will presently be called. But it is safe and just to say that very few, if any, of these will be found to be of material importance, and that very few books of like scope and purpose are equally free from such blemishes.

It has been said that this history has a "theme." It would perhaps be more accurate to say that this volume is the key-note of a theme—a *motif*, rather, which it is the author's purpose to develop in succeeding volumes covering the periods of the Royal and Revolutionary governments—a purpose which we devoutly hope he may be able to accomplish. The idea of the original promoters of the Colony, beyond that of personal pecuniary gain, was to found a commonwealth subsidiary to that of England and in harmony with its government and interests, but founded upon a constitutional system that would rectify certain supposed defects in the model and fix at the very inception those aristocratic principles which had become unduly developed in the reaction that characterized the Restoration. The absolute and immediate failure of this scheme was due to its inherent defect of an erroneous conception of the

true underlying principles that give the English Constitution its vitality and permanence, and the Utopian ideas of Locke and Shaftesbury embodied in the "Fundamental Constitutions." The firm, unyielding, and eventually successful resistance of the colonists to these efforts of the Lords Proprietors was due to a cause which the latter seem never to have grasped, which asserted itself from the very beginning, persisted with bull dog tenacity and unflinching purpose, accomplished its aim by a bloodless revolution after fifty years, and after fifty more of steady development, ripened into successful fruition in the Revolutionary struggle. This cause was the determination of a free-born people to enforce its inherent right of self-government. Our author has followed this theme with admirable clearness, but without undue insistence, so that one may see it always giving tone and firmness to the fabric of the book as readily as he sees the spinal column of some transparent animal organism without losing sight of its accessories. This was the one and all-sufficient reason for the prompt rejection by the colonists of the Fundamental Constitutions. The attempt to establish a colonial nobility had probably nothing whatever to do with it, and our author errs in overstating the absurdity of the "empty titles" of Landgrave and Cassique and the mistake of "forcing a nobility" upon an unwilling people. A title is certainly not empty when it carries with it the hereditary ownership of forty-eight thousand acres of land, and the most pronounced Puritans and Quakers, such as Axtell, Blake, Moreton and Archdale accepted these dignities with a satisfaction that has lingered among their descendants to the present day.

English democratic principles have never been antagonistic to a nobility which, as Professor Fiske has shown, has always been in touch with the people, from the fact that its cadets are only commoners. Sir John Yeamans is the first broken idol of our book, his "mild and paternal administration" being completely exploded by documentary proof of his flagrant absenteeism and diligent cultivation of "the main chance." The fact is that the earliest actual settlers were here for the plain and undisguised purpose of bettering their fortunes, and not from a purely ambitious or adventurous spirit. But they were not therefore of necessarily plebeian origin, and our author speaks far too strongly when he says that "any tradition that connects to any extent the provincial aristocracies of the Southern States with the Old World patrician origin, is pure sentimental fiction." This, however, is not his own language, but a quotation, though the marks have been omitted by the printer. It is quite true that Sir John Yeamans, Knt. and Baronet, and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Knt., were the only titled men of the earlier period; and it is equally true that the Rev. Dr. Le Sau and others, have given an undoubtedly "hard character" to the mass of the early inhabitants. But the proportion of gentlemen was probably somewhat greater than is usual in older communities, and the names of Ashby, Middleton, Gibbs, Izard, God-

frey, Barnwell, Woodward, Broughton, Moore, and a great many others were borne by men who unquestionably belonged to families recorded in Burke among the oldest of the English gentry, the representative branches of which are in many instances found among the nobility.

Among the Huguenot settlers, too, who took a far more active part in public life than has been generally supposed, we find the Chastaigners, de St. Juliens, Ravenels, Du Bourdieus, Gaillards and many more who were of the Protestant gentlemen and noblesse of France. They were strong men, too, who asserted their position, and whatever may have been their personal faults and weaknesses, like those same Fundamental Constitutions, they "undoubtedly had a marked effect upon the institutions of the colony, and impressed upon the people and upon their customs and habits, much of the tone and temper of their spirit.* The manner in which these impressions were produced and their permanent effects upon the social, the judicial, the political and the military systems of the State, remaining in force in some cases almost down to the present day, have been admirably handled by General McCrady and form one of the most valuable and attractive features of the book.

When we remember that these institutions were partly the best portions of the rejected Constitutions culled out by the "desperate fortunes" and "ill livers of the pretended Churchman," as they are spitefully called by the Quaker Governor Archdale, and partly the creation of their own practical intelligence, we are disposed to take with caution any general inferences derogatory to the men who achieved results which outlived two revolutions and persisted for two centuries. There is one fact connected with these men that cannot fail to impress the observant reader. Their "progress" was certainly "the resultant of opposing forces;" they belonged to adverse parties between which the lines were bitterly drawn and maintained; they accused each other freely of political and personal crimes, they even proceeded to personal violence, as when Colonel Rhett caned Landgrave Bellinger, and the Assembly brutally arrested Landgrave Smith. And yet none of the charges appear to have ever been proved, not a single duel or political execution is recorded, and no social or domestic scandal stains the story of their lives. In addition to these highly creditable facts they fixed the impossibility of legal divorce which has been the glory of South Carolina law to this day, although this resulted rather from negative action than from purpose. In all these matters the infant colony presents a strikingly favorable contrast to the highest circles of social life at home, and General McCrady has pointed out and developed a potent element in the production of this state of things, that is, the influence of the Barbadian contingent which was by all odds the strongest in the making of the Province. Nearly all of the more prominent of the earliest settlers were

* It should be said that these influences were due to the principles of English law embodied in the Constitution.

"Barbadoes Adventurers," and these men shaped the inchoate Province largely upon the social and political lines with which they had been long familiar.

In dealing with these men personally, the historian finds a singular difficulty in the remarkable reduplication of names, probably unprecedented elsewhere. There were two Joseph Blakes, both Proprietors, two Landgraves Thomas Smith, two Governors James Moore, two Deputy Governors William Bull, two James Le Seruriers, two Pierre de St. Juliens, two William Rhetts, two Nicholas Trotts. Heretofore this has been a fruitful source of confusion both in history and tradition, and no better proof is needed of our author's accurate methods than the fact that he has erred in only one case, that of the distinguished Attorney-General Nicholas Trott, whom he has apparently confounded with his supposed uncle or cousin, the ex-governor of the Bahamas. Hewatt states that Chief Justice Trott came from Bahama, but does not with Oldmixon, say that he was the Governor, while a letter from the Lords Proprietor's agent, W. Popple, to W. Burchet, concerning Trott's application for appointment as Vice-Admiral, clearly draws the distinction between "Mr. Nicholas Trott, of Carolina," and "Mr. Nicholas Trott, late Governor of the Bahamas." There is also a document in the Charleston Probate Office, bearing strong proof to the same effect. The slip is historically of no consequence, and the author has given a very accurate and acute estimate of the character of this most remarkable man, thoroughly unprincipled, but an erudite and versatile scholar, and the intellectual Titan of his day. "Unscrupulous as a politician, corrupt and tyrannical as a judge, Trott was a profound lawyer, a scholar of great learning, and a most laborious and indefatigable worker." It was he who made the great compilation and codification of the statutory law adopted in 1712, which is the substantial basis of South Carolina's legal system to-day. Eight of his charges, including that of the case of the forty condemned pirates, and one on witchcraft, are preserved in the Charleston Library, and they are, from almost every point of view, marvellous and unique. He condemned a woman to be burned at the stake for the murder of her husband, and our author assumes that the sentence was never carried out because he finds no record of the execution. But this fearful punishment was certainly inflicted for certain crimes, such as arson by a slave, as late as 1765 (*South Carolina Gazette*), and Professor Fiske states that it was more frequent in the northern Provinces, at least fifteen cases occurring in New York.

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(TO BE CONCLUDED.)